TAB

COMMUNIST "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE

I. INTRODUCTION

The formation of "united fronts" is an essential part of Communist technique. In countries where the Communists hope to attain power, their first step is, invariably, to invite non-communists elements to collaborate with them in a program acceptable to all. As soon as this combined front has gained office and the position has been consolidated, the Communists gradually eliminate their non-Communist supporters and eventually establish a dictatorship to carry out policies bearing no relationship to the original program.

II.

A. Origins

The technique of the "united front" is based on Leninist-Stalinist theory. In his treatise on "Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" (Selected Works, 1920) Lenin wrote:

"The most powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of various countries, and among various countries, and among various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries by taking advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be only temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this do not understand a particle of Marxism, or of scientific modern Socialism in general".

This ruthless use of "mass allies" was also advocated by Lenin in his Discussion of Self-Determination Summed-Up (1916) in which he stated that

"we would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the great proletarian war for emancipation and Socialism, we did not know how to utilize every popular movement against each separate disaster caused by imperialism, in order to sharpen and extend the crisis."

Stalin, in his Foundations of Leninism (1924) described the main forces of the world revolutionary movement as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries" and added that its main reserves, from among whom, presumably, were to be drawn the

"united front" allies, were "the semi-proletarian and small peasant masses in the developed countries, (and) the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries". The ultimate aim of such alliances was made plain by Lenin (Selected Works, Vol. IX, p. 137). He held that

> "the class which took political power into its hands did so knowing that it took this power alone. That is part of the concept (of the) dictatorship of the proletariat--- This does not mean that the power of this one class, the class of the proletarians, which does not and cannot share power with any other class, does not need the support of an alliance with the laboring and exploited masses of other classes for the achievement of its aims."

B. **Tactics of the "United Front"**

Until comparatively recently the "united front" technique was most generally used in the national political sphere. The Communist objective in this sphere is to attain political power by means of alliances with other Left-wing groups. When this objective has been obtained the Communists gradually discard the non-Communist elements, whose support has helped them to power. The first stage of this process is generally the appointment of a key Party man to the post of Minister of the Interior, with control of the police, and the creation of a strong secret security force in charge of the Communists. The way is then open for the elimination or absorption of other parties, by such methods as treason trials, against political opponenets, party splits and mergers, and the introduction of Communist puppets into other party heirarchies. The results are always the same: parties which have collaborated with the Communists disappear as genuine organizations as soon as the Communists have obtained office, and the non-Communist politicians who have attempted to co-operate find, to their cost, that the Communists, once in power, tolerate no rivals.

III. **"UNITED FRONTS" IN EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

A study of developments in the Eastern European countries since 1945 clearly illustrates the tactics used by Communist "united fronts", and also the reasons for which these are formed. There is no doubt, of course, that the persence of Soviet armies in these States was a decisive factor in securing the desired dictatorship; but the formation of Democratic Front coalitions was an essential part of the process.

A. Poland offers a notable example of the efficacy of the technique. In December 1944, the Communists, then a small minority, formed a "government bloc" of parties, consisting of the Socialists, Communist-inspired "Lublin" Peasant Party, and the Democrats (a Party for intellectuals formed under Communist auspices), besides their own Workers' Party. In November, 1945, the activities of the Independent Socialist group of M. Zulawski were banned and its leaders arrested. This was made possible by the Socialist puppet leader, M. Cyrankiewizz, working under M. Berman, a prominent Communist member of the Polish Politbureau. A series of purges of increasing intensity followed during the next three years and a committee was set up to study ways of merging the party with the Communists. This was achieved in December 1948, when M. Cyrankiewicz described the new party born of the union as "a Marxist-Leninist party, revolutionary and international, and therefore expressing most fully the national interest of the Polish State". Many of the original Socialist leaders were eliminated. Some, such as Bobrowski, went into exile; others, less fortunate, such as Dubiel, one-time Vice-Minister of the Regained Territories, were imprisoned.

The genuine Polish Peasant Party did not at first join the United Front. The Communists undermined it, however, by a series of trials, which claimed to prove a connection between M. Mikolajczyk, leader of the Party, and the underground organization of a "foreign power". They used the Left wing of the Polish Peasant Party, led by M. Wycech, as a means of destroying the party from within, but the latter's attempts to persuade the party to join the government bloc in 1946 were rejected at a party congress. The Communists then further undermined the party by the trial and arrest of prominent members, such as Count Grocholski, M. Araszkiewicz and M. Boguslawski. The final break-up came when M. Mikolajczyk and some of his colleagues fled in October 1947, to avoid arrest and trial. On the 8th May, 1948, the remaining "purified" Peasant Party announced its fusion with the Communist-inspired "Lublin" Peasant Party and this United Peasant Party, under a fellow-travelling minority leadership, lingers on even today, for propaganda reasons, in order to attract the votes of the large peasant population.

B. Hungary

A United Front competed in the Hungarian general elections of November 1945. Of the votes cast for the coalition, the Smallholders' Party obtained 57%, the Social Democrats 17.6% and the Communists 16.9%. Despite their relatively small poll, the Communists nevertheless claimed the Deputy Premiership for M. Rakosi, as well as the Ministries of Social Welfare, Communications, and the Interior. They were thus in control of

the police, and, by skillful manipulation of the voting at the
expense of the Social Democrats, they obtained 22% of all votes
cast in the elections of August 1947 and became the most
important party. They also made use of a split in the Small-
holders' Party to secure the expulsion of M. Sulyok and 20
other "reactionaries" from that party. In February 1947 Russian
intervention resulted in the arrest of the party's peasant
leader, Mr. Kovacs, and in June M. Nagy, the Premier, was
charged with "complicity". He refused to return to Hungary
to answer these charges and the Smallholders' Party then
virtually disintegrated.

Next the Social Democratic Party, with the connivance of one
of its leaders, M. Szakasits, underwent a series of purges, in the
course of which two of its leaders, M. Peyer and M. Ban, escaped
from Hungary. In June 1948 the Party fused with the Communists.
The last stage was reached early in 1950 when Szakasits and three
of his associates who had helped to sell the Socialists to the
Communists, namely M. Gyorgi Marosan, M. Istvan Ries and M.
Zoltan Horvath, were in their turn eliminated.

The Catholic Democratic People's Party under M. Barankovics
was the next to go under. The arrest and trial of Cardinal
Mindszenty was followed by the flight of the party's leader
to Vienna in February 1949, and M. Rakosi then announced the
formation of a "National Independence Party" and the institution
of a "single list" of candidates to fight the May elections. With
those elections democratic government in Hungary can be said to
have ended.

C. Czechoslovakia

Under the "Kosice Program" of 1945 a National Front of
four Czech and two Slovak parties was allowed. First steps
towards control of the Socialist parties by the Communists
had been taken during the war, when the exiled leaders of the
Czech Social Democratic Party in London and Moscow accepted,
for the sake of allied unity, the leadership of the fellow-traveller,
M. Fierlinger. In the first National Government set up after
the war in 1945, the Communists took charge of the Ministry of
the Interior, as well as of the Ministries of Information and
agriculture. The Social Democrats, however, at first failed to
respond to Communist pressure and in November 1947 they did not
re-elect M. Fierlinger as chairman of the Party on account
of his pro-Communist policy. In Slovakia the Social Democrats had
merged with the Communists in 1944 but they regained their
independence in 1947. It was possibly because they had failed
to secure the "unity" of the non-Communist parties that the
Communists organized their coup of February, 1948. M. Fierlinger,

-4-

with the help of a few collaborators and the armed intervention of the Security Police, seized the Social Democratic Headquarters in Prague, exiled the secretary-general of the Party, M. Vilim, and became chairman of the Communist-appointed "Action Committee" in the party. The two parties were finally merged at a "United Congress" in Prague on the 27th June, 1948. The Slovak Democratic Party had already been eliminated. In 1947 a big "anti-State plot" was discovered, which led to the arrest of two of its leaders.

The Czech Government is still nominally a National Front administration, but in fact none of the subsidiary parties dares to criticize the Communist core, each being supervised from within by a Communist-dominated "Action Committee".

D. **Bulgaria**

Bulgaria's position in 1944 was different from that of the other Axis satellites, for she was not at war with the Soviet Union. Before the Communist Party could gain control it was essential that Soviet troops should "liberate" the country. The time-table here is significant. The Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria on the 5th September, 1944, in spite of the fact that the Bulgarian Government under M. Bagrianov had asked the United Kingdom and the United States Governments for an armistice before the end of August; the interim Bulgarian Government (which had succeeded M. Bagrianov on the 1st Sept) asked for an armistice on the 6th and declared war on Germany on the 8th, the day on which Marshal Tolvukhin's forces arrived in the country; and on the 9th September the Communists had already formed a Fatherland Front composed of Zveno Republicans, Agrarians, Social Democrats and Communists. The Communists first attacked the Agrarian Party, which had the support of two-thirds of the population, and was strongly pro-Western. They imposed new executive committees on the Party and arranged for a new leader to be "demanded" in place of Dr. G.M. Dimitrov, who found refuge in the west. Dimitrov was succeeded by Petkov, who was later tried and executed. He was succeeded by the neo-Communist M. Obbov who was himself turned out two years later. Since then the Agrarian Party, like the Polish United Peasant Party, has continued to exist under fellow-travelling leaders as a bait for the Bulgarian peasant population.

The fall of the Social Democratic Party followed swiftly. It was purged and then merged with the Communist Workers' Party on the 11th August, 1948. In November 1948 Lulchev and other Social Democratic deputies were tried and condemned and the last nucleus of independent Socialists was eliminated. The Zveno Republican Party disappeared in the spring of 1949.

-5-

E. Roumania

In October 1944 the Social Democrats agreed to join the
Communists in a National Democratic Front against the National
Peasants and the Liberals, on condition that their freedom of
action should not be impaired. When a predominantly Communist
"front" was imposed on the country by Russian orders in March
1945 the Socialists remained in the Government with three
Ministers drawn from the Left wing of the party. The Communists
fostered disagreements inside the party and infiltrated
fellow-travellers into the Central Committee in accordance with
their usual tactics. The merger of the Social Democrats
and the Communists took place in February 1948 when the Socialist
Right-wing leader, Petrescu, was arrested.

The destruction of the Peasant Party also followed classic
lines. The Communists staged a trial of the Party's leader, Maniu,
and then established an artificial peasant group and suppressed
the original Party, allegedly at its own wish, on the 22nd
January, 1949.

IV. "UNITED FRONT" TACTICS OUTSIDE THE SOVIET ORBIT

A. The same Communist tactics can be traced today, at various
stages of development, in those countries outside the Soviet
orbit which are considered "sufficiently advanced". Such
activity has recently increased, possibly as the result of a
Cominform resolution of November 1949 which stated that the
formation of "democratic governments" is the ultimate objective
of these tactics. "On the basis of successes achieved in creating
unity in the ranks of the working-class movement, and in the
consolidation of the democratic forces, it will become possible
to develop the struggle in the capitalist countries for the
formation of governments which would rally all patriotic forces
opposing the enslavement of their countries by U.S. imperialism;
governments which would adopt a policy of a stable peace between
the peoples, put an end to the armaments race and raise the living
standards of the working people."

The Leninist-Stalinist theory quoted in Section II has been
underlined by Communist leaders outside the Soviet orbit. For
instance, Thorez says (Oeuvres, Book 2, Vol. I, page 88):

> "There is no contradiction in the fact that, on
> the one hand, you may be fighting in a more systematic,
> intelligent and coherent fashion the policy and organization
> of the social-fascist leaders and on the other simultaneously
> and continually be developing united front tactics with
> Socialist workmen. The first condition is to establish the
> necessary distinction between Social Democrat leaders working
> for imperialism and the workers deceived by them."

Similarly a new program for the Japanese Communist Party, published in the Cominform Journal on the 23rd November, 1951, concludes that:

"The peaceful way of liberation and democratic transformation of Japan is the way of deception."

The statement then calls for an alliance of workers of all kinds, small businessmen, manufacturers and merchants as well as "all progressive forces in Japan, irrespective of social status, and all the more or less progressive political parties and progressive intelligentsia."

B.
The following examples show briefly how these tactics are being applied in various countries today.

1. Finland. Early in January 1952 the People's Democratic Press called for greater co-operation between the S.K.P. (Finnish Communist Party) and the S.K.D.L. (Communist-dominated Folk Democratic League) in order to gain support from Social Democratic waverers and non-political trade unionists.

2. Spain. Dolores Ibarruri, 'La Pasionaria', recently demanded the "unity of all republican forces to combat Franco", according to Pravda. Fernand Claudin, in Trud on the 2nd February, 1952, declared that the Spanish Communist Party is "trying to form a wide national front".

3. Greece. The Communist Party is banned in Greece and tactics therefore follow a slightly different pattern. In August 1951 Passalides, leader of the so-called Socialist Party of Greece, founded a new political group, the E.D.A. (United Democratic Left) consisting of the crypto-Communist "Democratic Rally" and a Left-wing Liberal group (Koryskhades). It attempted without success to win the support of General Plastiras, head of the Progressive Liberals and now Prime Minister. The "Free Greece" radio believed to be in Bucharest, which was supporting the group, then denounced Plastiras as "the most dangerous enemy of the people and the country". The trial of 29 Communists accused of espionage in February 1952 showed beyond doubt that the E.D.A. was a cover for the Communist Party, who are working underground within the country under direction from outside.

4. __Italy__ . The Italian Socialist Party is split between those who wish to form a united front with the Communists and those who would prefer independence of action. In connection with the forthcoming municipal elections, the Italian Communists are forming local groups, ostensibly independent of the Party, whose object is to secure the votes of as many Left-wing waverers as possible.

5. __France__. The Communists are not making great progress with the formation of political fronts, since the other parties refuse to co-operate. They are, therefore, concentrating their efforts on the trade unions. A pamphlet on "Communist Policy" edited by the Party for "elementary Communist schools", in January 1949 described the objective of the movement as "the formation of a government of democratic union in which the French Communist Party will assume the responsibilities entrusted to it by six million French voters". An article in the March 1952 issue of __Democratié Nouvelle__, which is edited by the French Communist leader Duclos, claims that some progress has been made towards local alliances between Socialists and Communists.

6. __India__. The fundamental feature of the Indian Communist Party's tactics during the recent elections was the establishment of a united front with non-Communist Left-wing parties. This policy, however, received a setback on the 10th March, 1952, when Dr. Singh, President of the United Socialist Organization in India, ordered his followers not to join the Democratic Front sponsored by the Communists. He claimed that his organization was already an "established All-India Leftist Front".

7. __Japan__ . In March 1951 it was reported that leaders of Socialist Committees had expressed support for the Communist call for united action to fight an "overall peace treaty" and that some Democratic and Liberal elements were also prepared to subscribe.

8. __Chile__. An alliance has been formed between the Communist and Socialist parties in support of the Socialist candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections, Senor Allende. The latter is a member of the Preparatory Committee of the Inter-American "Peace" Conference.

V. "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE IN COLONIAL SPHERES.

A.

The "United front" is no longer confined to the national political sphere. It has been considerably extended. Stalin

first enumerated the immediate tasks confronting revolutionary movements in "capitalistically developed colonial and dependent countries," in his treatise on "The Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East" (1925). These tasks were:

1. To win over the best elements of the working class to the side of Communism and to form independent Communist parties;

2. to set up a national revolutionary bloc of workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia against the bloc of compromising national bourgeoisie and the imperialists;

3. to guarantee the hegemony of the proletariat in this bloc;

4. to fight for the liberation of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie from the influence of the compromising national bourgeoisie;

5. to secure the linking of the national liberation movement with the proletarian movement of the advanced countries."

The following examples show that these directives remain unchanged.

B. Far East.

According to the Cominform Journal of 27th January, 1950, national liberation movements "have reached a significant stage in the Far East, owing to the victory of the Chinese people". The three stages of liberation were described as united front, armed struggle and finally political struggle. China, Vietnam and Malaya were quoted to show that armed struggle is the decisive stage in the liberation movement. Political struggle was described as "rallying the working people and all progressive forces by the Communist Parties, trade unions and all democratic organizations". The following examples show the stages reached in:

1. Korea. United front formed June 1946, reorganized June 1949; liberation army formed 1945; armed struggle started June 1950.

2. Vietnam: United front first formed in 1941, consolidated in November 1950 when a joint front was formed between Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; armed struggle began September 1945.

3. Burma: Attempts to establish a united front with Karens have so far failed; armed struggle began July 1948.

4. Malaya: Repeated minor attempts to form a united front unsuccessful; armed struggle began July 1948.

In the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand, attempts to form united fronts have so far been unsuccessful.

C. Iran

The Cominform Journal on the 17th August , 1951, urged that the Tudeh Party should fight for the unity of the working class and create a broad front to "struggle against the British and American imperialists and their lackeys". The Tudeh Party is proscribed and to create a front it has had to rely on a number of mass organizations under its control: the National Society for the Struggle Against Imperialism (NSSI); the National Society for Help to the Peasantry (NSHP); the Partisans of Peace (PP); the Democratic Youth Organization (DYO); the Iran Freedom Society (IFS); and the Society for Struggle against Illiteracy (SSI). The first two, with the Society of Aserbeijanis, organized a Left- wing coalition in January 1952 for election purposes; the first and fourth staged joint demonstrations on the "International Day of Struggle Against Colonial Regimes"; and the NSSI includes in its program the reinstatement of the Tudeh Party.

D. Syria and Lebanon

The Communist Parties are proscribed in both countries. They have, therefore, attempted to form People's National Fronts through the trade unions and the youth and women's organizations. In Syria the Communists have won the co-operation of the Arab Socialist Party.

E. Tunisia.

On the 25th February, 1952, Moscow Radio announced that the Communist Party had set up a committee, on which the bourgeois National Party and various trade unions were represented, in order to form a Tunisian National Front. This project will doubtless be checked by the recent French arrests of Communist and nationalist leaders.

F. Algeria.

A United Front was formed in July 1951 which included the Algerian Communist Party, the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTDL), the Manifesto Party (UDMA) and the Ulemas, or unofficial Muslim religious leaders. André Marty has pledged the support of the French Communist Party, of which he is secretary, for revolutionary movements in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria (Cominform

G.. Nepal.

In "Crossroads" of the 31st August, 1951, it was announced that a united front had been formed comprising the National Praja Parishad, the Communist Party, Akhil Nepal Sangh, the All-Trade Union Congress and other parties. The Communist Party has since been declared illegal and the united front has collapsed.

H. Cyprus.

The Communists have tried to exploit the movement for Enosis (union) with Greece for their own purposes, but the Enosis movement has refused to cooperate.

VI. "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE IN TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

In his treatise Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder (1920) Lenin said:

> "It is necessary...to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of the truth, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs".

The Communist aim is that penetration of the trade unions should be followed by the unity of all workers in a single Communist-controlled organization. They attempt to achieve this by constant appeals to the workers to form alliances. For instance, the General Council of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, at its meeting in Berlin in November, 1951, adopted a resolution which contained the following passage:

> "At the present moment the essential tasks of the W.F.T.U. must be:
>
> to give impulse to the struggle of the workers and to widen the foundations of united action in order to satisfy their vital demands;
>
> to assist trade union action to develop support for the national liberation movements in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries;
>
> to rally the forces of the workers to maintain peace..."

The resolution went on to stress the importance of achieving united action and suggested that in pursuance of this aim trade union organizations should set up "united action committees" in factories as well as "trade union co-ordination committees". At the same meeting Bénoit Frachon made

it clear that in order to attain such unity of action it was necessary to win over the workers of different affiliations; one way of achieving this was not to insist that they should adopt the entire W.F.T.U. program if there were points with which they disagreed.

The application of this technique can be traced in international and national trade union organizations. For instance, the European Metal-Workers held a conference in Vienna in February, 1952, the aim of which was, according to the W.F.T.U. organ World Trade Union Movement, to "strengthen the unity of action of these workers for improved living and working conditions, for the protection of their rights, for national independence and peace". Such resolutions are designed to appeal to workers' legitimate grievances, but the ultimate aims are entirely political. For instance, the Metal-Workers' Conference adopted resolutions appealing for the success of the Moscow Economic Conference, condemning the Schuman Plan and advocating the creation of "peace" committees in factories.

Other examples of the same technique are the appeal of the Administrative Committee of the International Trade Union of Seamen, Inland Waterways Workers, Fishermen and Port Workers, issued in Warsaw on 19th December, 1950, which called on seamen and dockers throughout the world to unite; and a similar appeal to transport workers throughout the world by the meeting of the Trade Unions International of Land and Transport Workers at Vienna, in July, 1951.

VII. "UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE IN OTHER COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Communist "united front" tactics in other international organizations follow closely those used by the W.F.T.U., that is to say, these organizations try to attract individuals and organizations who themselves have no Communist affiliations. This is chiefly done by adopting programs and appeals based on general humanitarian principles, which are likely to attract well-meaning people unaware of the political implications of the sponsoring organization.

The activities of the World "Peace" Council is a good example of this technique. For instance, at a meeting in Vienna in November, 1951, the Council adopted a resolution calling on "all groups, movements and individuals concerned for the preservation of peace to work together in a common effort to secure the conclusion of a peace pact." The Council also frequently makes appeals to specific groups of people, irrespective of their political affiliations. At its Berlin meeting in March, 1951, it recommended that the secretariat should "do everything necessary in order that peace-loving scientists should propose the inclusion in the charters of the international and scientific organizations of which they are members of a demand that their scientific discoveries be used solely for peace".

-12-

The political aims of this technique are clearly to create a nucleus of people throughout the workd, whether Communist or not, who will come to regard the Soviet Union as a guardian of peace and who will undermine both the moral and physical resistance of the non-Communist world to Soviet Russia.

February, 1953